

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PEKING 0417

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJECT: PEKING UNIVERSITY BRIEFING ON PRC ANTI-RIGHTIST STRUGGLE

REF: PEKING

FOLLIWNG PER REFTEL IS BRIEFING AND ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ON ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN GIVEN FOREIGN DIPLOMATS ON MARCH 6 BY PEKING UNIVERSITY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE VICE CHAIRMAN HUANG HSIN-PAI:

1. OPENING STATEMENT BY HUANG. AT PEKING UNIVERSITY, THE GREAT DEBATE AND CRITICISM MASS MOVEMENT ON THE EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND BEGAN IN EARLY NOVEMBER 1975. SINCE THEN, WE HAVE HAD THREE MONTHS OF STRUGGLE. HOW DID THIS EDUCATIONAL GREAT DEBATE START? IT STARTED IN THE SUMMER OF 1975. IN THE MONTHS FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER LAST YEAR, A HANDFUL OF PEOPLE IN SOCIETY CAME TO THE FORE AND NEGATED THE EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND DIRECTED THE SPEARHEAD AGAINST CHAIRMAN MAO. THE BROAD MASSES OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND WORKERS AT THE UNIVERSITY WERE VERY ANGRY AT THESE RUMORS AND FALLACIES. THEY SAID THAT THE SPEECHES AND REMARKS

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MADE BY THIS HANDFUL OF PEOPLE WERE RUMOURS AND FALLACIES. LATER,

WE CAME TO REALISE THAT THIS WAS A RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND WHICH HAD BEEN TWARTED BY THIS HANDFUL OF PEOPLE. CHAIRMAN MAO DISCERNED THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND TENDENCY VERY EARLY AS AN ASPECT OF CLASS STRUGGLE. CHAIRMAN MAO PROPOSED TO HAVE A GREAT DEBATE. THIS GREAT DEBATE STARTED AT TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY IN OCTOBER 1975. CHAIRMAN MAO PERSONALLY INITIATED AND LEAD THIS GREAT DEBATE AND CRITICISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND. SHORTLY AFTER THE GREAT DEBATE STARTED AT TSINGHUA, WE STARTED IT HERE. AFTER THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND WAS EXTENDED TO OTHER SPHERES INCLUDING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THIS WE REALISED WAS NOT ISOLATED OR ACCIDENTAL.

2. WE REALISED THAT THERE WAS A SOURCE FOR THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND AND NOW EVERYONE IS VERY CLEAR THAT THE BIG BOSS (OR STAGE MANAGER) AND ROOT CAUSE OF THIS RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND IS NONE OTHER THAN COMRADE TENG HSIAO-PING. NOW THE BROAD MASSES OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND WORKERS AT THE UNIVERSITY ARE CONCENTRATING ON CRITICISING THE MISTAKES OF TENG. NOW EVERYBODY KNOWS IT IS TENG. BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HE, TOGETHER WITH LIU SHAO-CHI, PUSHED THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REVISIONIST LINE, AND DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HIS MISTAKES WERE REPUDIATED BY THE BROAD MASSES. AFTER THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION HE MISUSED THE TRUST GIVEN TO HIM BY THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY (I.E. HIS NEW POSTS INCLUDING VICE PREMIER) AND BEGAN TO PUSH A REVISIONIST LINE ONCE AGAIN. HE ADVOCATED TAKING THE THREE DIRECTIVES AS THE KEY LINK. THIS IS A REVISIONIST POLICY. IN ESSENCE THIS POLICY IS OPPOSED TO THE POLICY OF TAKING CLASS STRUGGLE AS THE KEY LINK. IT ADVOCATES THE DYING OUT OF CLASS STRUGGLE AND PROMOTES THE THEORY OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES. TENG MADE SPEECHES EVERYWHERE SAYING, "WE MUST DO OUR BEST TO REALISE THE FOUR MODERNISATIONS. WE MUST DO EVERYTHING AND ANYTHING TO INCREASE PRODUCTION. IT IS IMMATERIAL WHAT MEANS WE ADOPT OR WHAT POLICY WE FOLLOW IN ATTEMPTING TO ATTAIN THIS GOAL." THIS IS THE SAME

STUFF HE PROPOSED BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION WHEN HE SAID, "IT DOES NOT MATTER WHETHER THE CAT IS BLACK OR WHITE, SO LONG AS IT CATCHES THE MICE, IT IS A GOOD CAT." WHAT HE HAS PROPOSED IS AGAINST THE POST-CULTURAL REVOLUTION BASIC LINE OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE WILL NOT ALLOW HIM TO DO THIS.

3. AT FIRST, THIS GREAT DEBATE CENTERED ON PROBLEMS IN THE EDUCATIONAL
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CULTURAL REVOLUTION, BUT NOW WE CAN SEE CLEARLY THAT HIS REVISIONIST INFLUENCE IS NOT ONLY IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE BUT IN OTHER SPHERES. THIS IS A GREAT STRUGGLE IN A NEW SITUATION BETWEEN THE TWO CLASSES -THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE- AND THE TWO ROADS-SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM. THIS IS A CONTINUATION AND DEEPENING OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. SO IT IS CLEAR THAT THE RESULT OF THIS STRUGGLE CONCERNS THE FUTURE AND FATE OF THE PARTY AND THE COUNTRY.

4. THIS TELLS US THAT THE MAIN CONTRADICTION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE BOURGEOISIE. THE MAIN DANGER IS REVISIONISM. WHERE ARE THE BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY? HOW DANGEROUS IS REVISIONISM? NOW WE HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THESE QUESTIONS. THROUGH THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE CAMPAIGN TO CRITICISE LIN BIAO AND CONFUCIUS, THE MASS MOVEMENT TO STUDY OF THE THEORY OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND THE CAMPAIGN TO CRITICISE THE NOVEL "WATER MARGIN", WE HAVE OBTAINED A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ALL THIS. SOME OF THE BIG CHARACTER POSTERS HAVE EXPRESSED IT WELL: THE CAPITALIST ROADERS ARE STILL TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD AND INDEED THERE ARE CAPITAL-ATIONISTS. THAT IS TO SAY, WE CAN SEE THAT THE BOURGEOIS CLASS IS STILL IN SOCIETY. WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT IS THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BOURGEOIS CLASS ARE STILL IN OUR PARTY I.E. THEY ARE THOSE PEOPLE IN POWER IN PARTY WHO ARE TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD. THE CAPITALIST ROAD REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE INTELLECTUALS WHO SERVE THE BOURGEOIS INTERESTS. IT ALSO REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO WANT TO EXPAND BOURGEOIS RIGHTS AND TAKE THE CAPITALIST ROAD. THESE CAPITALIST ROADERS IN POWER WEAR THE CLOAK OF COMMUNISM AND HAVE POWER IN THEIR HANDS. WHEN THEY PRACTICE REVISIONISM, THEY DO IT QUICKLY. WE MUST WATCH THEM.

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5. CHAIRMAN MAO SAYS, "WE MUST GUARD AGAINST THE RE-EMERGENCE OF REVISIONISM AND ESPECIALLY GUARD AGAINST IT RE-AMERGING IN THE PARTY CENTER" THERE ARE SOME CAPITALIST ROADERS IN THE PARTY WHO ARE THE MAIN PROMOTERS OF THE REVISIONIST LINE. AS FOR THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, THEIR MAIN TASK IS THROUGH THIS STRUGGLE TO LEARN TO RECOGNISE AND DISTINGUISH REAL MARXISM FROM SHAM MARXISM. THEY WILL NOT ALLOW ANYONE TO PRACTICE REVISIONISM. THEY WILL REPUDIATE REVISIONISM. IF THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE IN THE PARTY CENTER WHO PRACTICE REVISIONISM, WE WILL RESIST THEM. THIS IS THE MAIN SUBJECT OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE.

6. THE BROAD MASSES ARE NOW EXPOSING REVISIONISM IN BIG CHARACTER POSTERS AND THIS IS AN EXPRESSION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY. IT SHOWS THAT THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR COUNTRY IS STRONG AND THAT THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND CONSTRUCTION ARE THRIVING. THE MOVEMENT AT PEKING UNIVERSITY HAS BEEN GOING ON UNDER THE CARE OF CHAIRMAN MAO AND THE PARTY CENTER. THE MOVEMENT IS UNDER THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE

PARTY. WE MUST FULLY MOBILISE THE MASSES TO TAKE PART IN GREAT CRITICISM AND GREAT DEBATE. THERE WILL BE NO COMBAT GROUPS SET UP; NO ORGANISATIONAL LINK-UPS WILL BE FORMED; BIG CHARACTER POSTERS WILL

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BE PUT UP ONLY IN SPECIALLY DESIGNATED PLACES; AND PEOPLE CAN BE CRITICISED BY NAME IN SPEECHES AND IN POSTERS. BY SO DOING, WE WILL MOBILISE THE MASSES. THIS SHOWS THE CENTRALISED LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY. THE MOVEMENT IS GOING AHEAD VERY HEALTHILY AND IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

7. AS FOR THOSE WHO HAVE MADE MISTAKES, OUR PARTY'S POLICY ALL ALONG HAS FOLLOWED CHAIRMAN MAO'S DIRECTIVE THAT WE MUST CURE THE ILLNESS TO SAVE THE PATIENT. WE ARE APPLYING THIS POLICY TO TENG HSIAO-PING. NATURALLY, WHETHER HE WILL REFORM HIMSELF OR NOT, WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE.

8. ANSWERS BY HUANG TO QUESTIONS

THROUGH THIS STRUGGLE WE HAVE COME TO SEE THAT THE ROOT OF THIS RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WING IS TENG HSIAO-PING. OF COURSE, IT ALSO TOOK US SOME TIME TO GET A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THIS QUESTION. AS IT SAID IN MY BRIEF REVIEW, AT FIRST WE Began REPUDIATING AND CRITICISING THE FALLACIES PREVAILING IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE. WE CAME TO SEE THAT THE PROBLEMS EXPOSED IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE WERE CONNECTED WITH PROBLEMS IN THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL SPHERE - THE FALLACIES SPREAD IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE ARE IDENTICAL WITH THOSE IN THE SPHERE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. OF COURSE THIS PROVIDES FOOD FOR PEOPLE TO THINK. IN THE PROCESS, PEOPLE EXPOSED MORE AND MORE MISTAKES MADE BY THESE PEOPLE. SO, GRADUALLY

PEOPLE CAME TO REALISE WHERE THE ROOT OF THIS RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND WAS. THE REMARKS I MADE JUST NOW EXPLAIN THE PROCESS BY WHICH WE CAME TO SEE THE ROOT OF THIS RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND.

9. NOW WE ARE CONCENTRATING ON EXPOSING AND REPUDIATING THE MISTAKES MADE BY TENG HSIAO-PING. THREE MONTHS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE MOVEMENT STARTED IN OUR UNIVERSITY, BUT AS FOR THE FINDING OUT OF THE ROOT OF THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND, WE HAVE JUST BEGUN TO FIND OUT WHERE THE SOURCE IS. WE KNOW THAT THE MOVEMENT WILL DEEPEN AS TIME GOES BY. IT IS VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO PREDICT HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE.

10. OF COURSE, THE REVISIONIST WRONG LINE HAS ITS INFLUENCE IN DIFFERENT CIRCLES, AND IN VARYING DEGREES. YOU HAVE READ THE BIG CHARACTER POSTERS AND EVERYTHING SO FAR
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EXPOSED IS IN THE POSTERS. OF COURSE, THE THINGS EXPOSED IN THE BIG CHARACTER POSTERS ARE REVISIONIST STUFF. WE DO NOT THINK THAT THIS WILL AFFECT A CHANGE IN OUR PARTY'S POLICY. JUST NOW, ONE OF THE QUESTIONS ASKED WAS, "SINCE TENG HSIAO-PING WAS A BAD MAN ALL ALONG, HOW WAS HE GIVEN MORE POWER AFTER THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION?" OUR POLICY TOWARDS THOSE PEOPLE WHO HAVE MADE MISTAKES IS THAT WE LEARN FROM PAST MISTAKES SO AS TO GUARD AGAINST FUTURE ONES - TO KILL THE DISEASE. BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION TENG MADE MISTAKES, AND DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION HE MADE A SELF-CRITICISM AND SAID THAT HE WOULD CORRECT HIS MISTAKES. THAT IS WHY, AFTER THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HE WAS ASSIGNED TO HIGHER POSTS. OUR POLICY IS STILL THIS ONE, THAT IS, TO LEARN FROM PAST MISTAKES AND GUARD AGAINST FUTURE ONES - TO CURE THE DISEASE SO AS TO SAVE THE PATIENT. MAYBE IT IS STILL A LITTLE BIT TOO EARLY TO PREDICT THE RESULT. UP TO THIS DAY WE HAVE NOT HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT A CHANGE OF THIS POSITION. THE PEOPLE WILL MAKE THE JUDGMENT WHETHER HE HAS CORRECTED HIS MISTAKES OR NOT.

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11. PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT UNITS COME TO OUR UNIVERSITY TO SEE THE BIG CHARACTER POSTERS. NOT EVERYTHING IN THE BIG CHARACTER POSTERS WAS EXPOSED BY THE MASSES HERE, AT PEKING UNIVERSITY. IT IS BETTER THAT MASSES EXCHANGE THEIR VIEWS. SO THE PEOPLE FROM OTHER UNITS ALSO COME TO OUR UNIVERSITY TO SEE OUR BIG CHARACTER POSTERS. TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FROM OUR UNIVERSITY ALSO GO TO

OTHER UNITS TO SEE THEIR POSTERS. THERE ARE SOME MAJOR NEWSPAPER ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS, SO THIS IS NOT A CASE OF JUST LIMITING THESE FACTS TO WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY. FOR OUR PART, IT TOOK US SOME TIME TO GET A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE ESSENCE OF "TAKING THE THREE DIRECTIVES AS THE KEY LINK."

12. THE PEOPLE IN OUR UNIVERSITY WERE AWARE OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF TENG HSIAO-PING AND THEY RESISTED THESE WRONG IDEAS. IT WAS A FACT THAT FOR A PERIOD OF TIME SOME PEOPLE IN OUR UNIVERSITY WERE NOT QUITE CLEAR ABOUT THINGS SPREAD BY TENG HSIAO-PING.

13. BECAUSE OF THE INFLUENCE OF TENG HSIAO-PING, OUR MINISTER OF EDUCATION ALSO MADE A LOT OF WRONG REMARKS, AND, SAID A LOT OF WRONG WORDS. WE WORK IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE, AND SO WE ARE AWARE OF THE TRUE NATURE OF THESE FALLACIES EXPRESSED BY OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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MINISTER OF EDUCATION. FOR INSTANCE, WE KNEW THAT THE REMARKS MADE BY CHOW JUNG-HSIN WERE WRONG - THE REMARKS ABOUT THE OPEN DOOR POLICY, ABOUT PART-TIME SCHOOLS AND PART TIME STUDY. MAYBE THAT IS JUST BECAUSE WE WORK IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE, SO WE KNOW CLEARLY THEIR MISTAKES IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE. AT THAT TIME WE ALSO HEARD "TAKING THE THREE DIRECTIVES AS THE KEY LINK". THERE WERE SOME COMRAD

WHO SAID THAT WE MUST "TAKE CATCH TO THIS POLICY. ONCE THE MOVEMENT STARTED, MORE AND MORE PEOPLE CAME TO SEE THIS "TAKING THE THREE

DIRECTIVES AS THE KEY LINK" MORE CLEARLY. THE BROAD MASSES NOW HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE TRUE ESSENCE OF THE "TAKING THE THREE DIRECTIVES AS THE KEY LINK". SO THIS IS A NEW LESSON FOR US. SOME PEOPLE USE MARXISM, LENINISM AND MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT IN ORDER TO OPPOSE MARX, LENIN AND MAO TSE-TUNG. MAYBE YOU HAVE COME ACROSS THESE REMARKS IN ARTICLES WHICH CONFUSE THE KEY LINK WITH SUBSIDIARY LINKS. OF COURSE, IT TAKES TIME TO SEE THROUGH THIS TRICK AND IT CALLS FOR A HIGHER LEVEL OF MARXISM, LENINISM AND MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT. THIS IS QUESTION ON WHICH IT DOES TAKE SOME TIME FOR PEOPLE TO GET A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING.

14. JUST NOW I SAID THERE WERE A FEW PEOPLE IN SOCIETY SUPPORTING THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND, NOT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THE INTERPRETER HAS TRANSLATED WRONGLY). BUT I WANT TO REPEAT, THAT THERE WERE SOME PEOPLE IN SOCIETY, THAT MEANS A FEW PEOPLE IN SOCIETY. AS FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WE THINK THAT THE FORCE OF THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND IS TENG HSIAO-PING.

15. JUST NOW THE AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR ASKED HOW WE GOT ALL THIS INFORMATION. MAY OF THE FACTS WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE BIG CHARACTER POSTERS CAME FROM REPORTS WE HAVE HEARD, FROM DOCUMENTS WE HAVE SEEN, AND FROM ARTICLES WE HAVE SEEN IN THE PRESS. OF COURSE, SOME FACTS WERE NOT KNOWN BY ALL HERE AT THE UNIVERSITY. AS I SAID JUST

NOW, THE MOVEMENT IS DEEPENING, SO MORE AND MORE PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN EXPOSED. AND THIS MOVEMENT IS NOT ONLY BEING CARRIED OUT IN THE TWO UNIVERSITIES IN PEKING, AND NOT ONLY IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE. THE MOVEMENT IS GOING ON IN OTHER UNITS AS WELL, AND THE MASSES THERE ARE EXPOSING PROBLEMS. THE MOVEMENT IS DEEPENING, WITH MORE AND MORE PROBLEMS BEING EXPOSED. FOR INSTANCE, IN SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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ARTICLES WE LEARNED THAT THIS UNREPENTANT PARTY CAPITALIST-ROADER ACTUALLY LEFT THE SCENE WHEN A MOVIE WAS BEING SHOWN ABOUT A BARE-FOOT DOCTOR BECAUSE THE MOVIE WAS ULTRN-LEFT. PEOPLE FROM PEKING UNIVERSITY PRESENT HERE DID NOT KNOW THIS FACT. WE DID NOT KNOW THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO SEE THE FILM 'SPRING SPROUT', BUT THIS WAS EXPOSED BY THE MASSES IN OTHER UNITS. THIS IS THE WAY WE GATHER MATERIAL.

16. JUST NOW A GENTLEMAN FROM THE JAPANESE EMBASSY SAID THAT NOW WE HAVE JUST BEGUN CONCENTRATING ON THE SOURCE OF THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND, AND THAT THIS SHOWS THAT TENG HSIAO-PING IS STILL STRONG ENOUGH TO FIGHT. THAT IS NOT THE FACT. THAT IS NOT THE QUESTION. JUST NOW I EXPLAINED THE PROCESS HOW WE CAME TO SEE THE TRUVNATURE OF THE PROBLEM. IT IS REALLY VERY DIFFICULT FOR ME TO TELL

YOU EXACTLY HOW MANY PEOPLE HAD A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS

OF TENG HSIAO-PING. THE MOVEMENT STARTED IN THE EDUCATIONAL SPHERE AND

I DARESAY THAT THERE WERE PEOPLE WHO HAD A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THIS

ISSUE, BUT NOT AS MANY AS THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF

IT NOW. ALONG WITH DEEPENING THIS MOVEMENT MORE AND MORE
PEOPLE CAME TO SEE THE ISSUE CLEARLY. AT THE TIME WHEN THE MOVEMENT
JUST BEGAN, THERE WERE SOME COMRADES WHO RAISED QUESTIONS. NOW WE
ARE CRITICISING THEIR MISTAKES. SOME OF THEIR REMARKS WERE THE REMARKS

OF TENG HSIAO-PING. SOME PEOPLE RAISED QUESTIONS AT THAT TIME,
SO IT IS TIME PEOPLE HAD A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING. IN THINK YOU
MAY HAVE VME ACROSS ARTICLES APPEARING IN THE NEWSPAPERS
ONE OR TWO DAYS AGO. IN THE ARTICLE COVERING THE MOVEMENT AT
TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY, IT IS SAID THAT THE MOVEMENT IS CONDUCTED UNDER
THE CENTRALISED LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY. IN THE SAME
ARTICLE IT SAYS THAT THE MOVEMENT IS CONDUCTED DIRECTLY
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CHAIRMAN MAO AND THE PARTY CENTER.

17. WE ARE IN NO POSITION TO ANSWER HOW THE PLA WILL
CONDUCT THIS MOVEMENT. BUT ONE THING IS SURE, REVISIONISM
MUST BE REPUDIATED.

18. FROM THE SOURCES IN DIFFERENT UNITS, WE HAVE HEARD THAT
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TENG HSIAO-PING ON MANY OCCASIONS TOLD CADRES THAT THEY SHOULD
PUT BOLDNESS IN COMMAND, THAT IS TO SAY, YOU MUST BE BOLD.
MANY BIG CHARACTER POSTERS ARE REPUDIATING THIS. THE MOST
IMPORTANT THING IS THAT YOU MUST GET THE CORRECT ORIENTATION FROM
THE CORRECT LINE. YOU GET NOWHERE IF YOU JUST PUT BOLDNESS
IN COMMAND WITHOUT ATTACHING IMPORTANCE TO THE POLITICAL LINE.

19. JUST NOW I WASYASKED A QUESTION WHY THE ARTICLES IN
THE NEWSPAPERS DO NOT CRITICISE TENG HSIAO-PING BY NAME. TO
TELL YOU THE TRUTH, WE ARE IN NO POSITION TO ANSWER THIS
QUESTION.

20. ASKED WHERE TENG HSIAO-PING WAS NOW, HUANG ANSWERED "THIS
IS REALLY A VERY DIFFICULT QUESTION FOR ME TO ANSWER."

21. ASKED IF TENG HAD BEEN ASKED SPECIFICALLY TO MAKE SELF-
CRITICISM, OR IF HE HAD READ THE POSTERS, HUANG SAID
"I CAN ANSWER YOUR QUESTION VERY CLEARLY AND DEFINITELY, MR
AMBASSADOR. UP TO THIS DAY HE HAS NOT BEEN HERE TO READ THE
CHARACTER POSTERS."

22. ASKED WHO, APART FROM CHAIRMAN MAO, WAS LEADING THE ATTACK
ON TENG HSIAO-PING, HE ANSWERED

"I AM IN NO POSITION TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION."

23. HUANG CLOSED BY LOMATS PRESENT.
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